

OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

EXAMINATION of the Argument for the High Antiquity of the REGIAM MAJESTATEM, from the Chronicle of Kinlofs.

A Confirmation of an argument of probability, that the Regiam Majestatem was composed in the time of king David I. had been drawn by Mr. James Anderson, from the Chronicle of the abbey of Kinlofs, founded by that king.

In the course of an enquiry into that matter, this argument fell to be examined, in doing which, it might have been sufficient to have shewn that there was very little weight in it, and that the confirmation it received, from the Chronicle of Kinlofs, was of no importance, as that was a modern work, written in the sixteenth century.

But much more has been done. The character and works of Joannes Ferrerius Piedemontanus, the supposed author of that Chronicle, have been brought to the test, and he has been severely reprehended as an ignorant, faithless, and foolish writer.

One is at a loss to discover any sufficient reason for so violent an attack on this author, for reciting a story which it is certain he did not invent, and which he found, very probably, in some chronicle written before his own time.

It is acknowledged, that the same thing told by Ferrerius, still exists in more than one manuscript of that age, in which the code in question is mentioned. Examination, p. 31. It may therefore be presumed, that he had seen the account in the writings of prior, or of contemporary authors. And, though he is represented as a credulous reporter, he yet prudently omitted its most improbable and ridiculous circumstances.

The ashes of Joannes Ferrerius Piedemontanus, might therefore have been left undisturbed, for he only repeated a story, which other authors of character

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had

had told before him. The examiner, however, has bestowed much labour and many pages, to prove that Ferrerius, because he has happened inadvertently to fall into one mistake, is unworthy of credit in any thing else.

This author was produced by Sir Robert Gordon, to prove a fact which happened in his own time, viz. that Adam Gordon, a son of the family of Huntly, having married the heiress of the estate of Sutherland, was thereupon created earl of Sutherland.

As the testimony of Ferrerius, supposing his authority to be valid, must be of the greatest importance in ascertaining this point, it was not enough for the examiner to render him suspected. It became necessary entirely to destroy his credit as an historian.

In performing this, the zeal of the examiner may, perhaps, have carried him too far; and it may not, therefore, be improper to consider the grounds on which his attack is founded.

Johannes Ferrerius, is said, p. 20. to have been discovered by Robert Reid, abbot of Kinlofs, during an embassy in France; and to have been hired by him to teach the Latin language, in the monastery of Kinlofs, with a view that the brethren might by degrees be led to the knowledge of the sciences, and be able to combat the Reformers with their own weapons.

This story is very probable, but where it is found is not said.

Ferrerius's own story, however, in the History of the Abbots, published by Mabbillone, from Ferrerius's MS. in the library of Christina, queen of Sweden, is somewhat different. It is as follows.

Marten. Col.
vet. script.
Tom. 6. p.
326. folio
edit. Paris.
1729.

“ Anno MDXXV. ætatis meæ XXIII. veni Parisios, ubi pene triennium totum exegi sub Johanne Morando, natione Picardo, nunc doctore theologo
“ in Collegio Lexoviensi, sub Johanne Tartasio primario, atque tunc, oblata
“ nusquam occasione videndæ Scotiæ, cum M. Roberto Reyd, nunc abbate a
“ Kinlofs, sub annum MDXXVIII. in Britannium transmissi, et cum eo in
“ aula Scotiæ *tres annos fere vixi*; sed cum viderem sic meorum fieri studiorum
“ jacturam, petii vel ut mihi potestatem in Kinlofs degendi faceret, vel
“ abeundi potius. Ille cum nollet me missum facere, non gravate permisit, ut
“ in Kinlofs vitam transgerim. Itaque toto hoc quinquennio vel in instituendis
monachis,

“ monachis, vel in studio meo privato, vel in commentariis aliquot novis edendis fui. Nunc autem hoc anno MDXXXVII. quo hæc scribo, Italiam identidem, si nihil impediatur, cogito.”

From this account it appears, that Ferrerius lived three years at the court of Scotland, with his patron abbot Reid, who was then a sort of minister of state; and we thence easily infer, that he might have related with authority, who was at that time earl of Sutherland, and how the title was acquired, as that must have been generally known at court.

If Ferrerius had been always an obscure Latin teacher in a cloister, that circumstance might have derogated from his authority; but his teaching Latin alone, cannot be said to diminish his credit in any degree. It is certain, that Buchanan did the same; but no man on this account suspected his authority as *Vide Bayle.* an historian: and it is plain, that Ferrerius, besides Latin, taught logic, rhetoric, geography, philosophy, and many other branches of knowledge; and published, in his life-time, several books. It may not be improper to give his own account of these things.

“ Deinceps subscribemus libellorum per nos eodem tempore editorum titulos & nomina.

“ Enarrationes proborum authorum per nos in capitulo a Kynlofs.

“ Primo enarravimus Divi Hieronimi ad Paulum epistolam, cujus initum est *Frater Ambrosius*, idque fecimus, nuperante Domino Thomæ Chrystallo, abbate et administrante a Kynlofs. Item dialecticam Georgii Trapezontis. Item officia amicitiam, senectutem paradoxa et Somnium Ciceronis. Item praxin arithmeticis quam nostra marte scripsimus. Item spheram Joannis a sacro Bosco. Item decem libros Ethicorum Aristotelis Argropilo interprete. Item octo Politicorum libros, et Oeconomicorum duos Aristotelis, Leonardo Aretino interprete. Item dialogos duos Physicorum Jacobi Fabri Stapulensis. Item Paraphrasii Fabri in octo Physicorum Aristotelis libros. Item Paraphrasii Fabri in tres libros Aristotelis de anima. Item Introductionem et Dialogos Fabri ad Metaphysicam Aristotelis. Item Paulum Rosetti, hoc est de laboribus beatissimi Pauli libros sex, heroico conscriptos carmine. Item syntaxin Melanchtonis. Item primum Psalmum. Item quartum librum *Sententiarum Petri Lombardi.*

" Enarrata per nos in cubiculo nostro aliquot monachis private.

" Primum Syntaxin Melanchtonis, Officia Ciceronis, precepta elegantiarum
 " Augustini Senensis, libros de duplici copia, Erasmi dialecticen, Georgii Tra-
 " pezontii introductiones, seu mavis tabellas nostras in logicen, parva logica-
 " lia, Fabri Stapulensis cum nostris commentariis tres primos de cælo et mundo,
 " libros Aristotelis ex paraphrasi Fabri, prædicamenta Aristotelis, institutiones
 " rhetoricas, cum libro de figuris Melanchtonis, libros quatuor rhetoricorum ad
 " Herennium, Orationem Ciceronis pro Milone, Buccolica Virgilii, secundum
 " et sextum Enæad. Virgil. librum Fabii Quint. de institutione orat. Andriam
 " Terentii, Agricolam de inventione dialectica.

" Enarravi private Domino Joanni Perfont. lib 4, sent. Petri Lombardi.
 " Item celestem hierarchiam Divi Dionisii. Item ecclesiasticarum hierarchiarum
 " ejusdem. Item de divinis nominibus ejusdem. Item mysticam theologiam
 " ejusdem.

" Lucubrationculæ & commentarii nostro Marte editi in Kynlos.

" Primo edidimus contra receptam opinionem de nomine, prenomine, cog-
 " nomine, et agnomine, libellum unum. Item de vera comitæ significatione
 " ad Jacobum ejus nominis quintum Scotorum regem, lib. 1. Item de nume-
 " rorum praxi, lib. 1. Item de officiis vitæ Christianæ, lib. 1. Item de anima-
 " rum immortalitate, lib. 1. Item epigrammatum variorum, lib. 1. Item in-
 " troductionis ad logicen, lib. 1. Item in enotatione versiculi Juvenalis, ubi Ci-
 " ceronem poetam bonam fuisse defendimus, lib. 1. Item Chorographiæ Tau-
 " rinorum, lib. 1. Item vitam senioris Abbatis in Kinlofs, hoc est domini Tho-
 " mæ Chrystalli, lib. 1. Item sylvæ seu observationum pro texenda historia
 " a Kynlofs, lib. 1. Item auditum visu præstare contra Aristotelis placitum, lib.
 " 1. Item de syllabarum quantitate, lib. 1. Item commentariorum in parva
 " logicalia Jacob. Fabri Stapulensis, lib. 1. Item annotationes aliquot in æras,
 " lib. 1. Item quod Cicero non viderit, Virg. lib. 1. Item orationum encomias-
 " ticarum de Sandis, lib. 1. Item epistolarum familiarium ad varios, lib. 8.
 " Item Bibliothecæ selectorum librorum quam Robertus Reid, Abbas a Kyn-
 " los nuper instituit. lib. 1. Item totius orbis quadruplicem figurationem, lib.
 " 4. Item descriptiones terræ reprobationis, lib. 1.

" Inchoata

“Inchoata nondum absoluta; Item contra parva Logicalia, lib. 1. Item
 “Scholiorum in dialecticam Trapizontii, lib. 8. Item primarum et mediarum
 “syllabarum tabellas, lib. 2. Item felicitates Arist. et paradoxorum ad veram
 “Christi felicitatem, lib. 9. Item annotat. in Ethicam Arist. lib. 10. Item an-
 “not. in Politica Arist. lib. 8. Item Commentariorum in Encomia Arist. lib.
 “Idem idearum Platoniarum, lib. 1. Item annotat. in officia amicitiam senectu-
 “tem Paradoxa, et Somnium Ciceronis, lib. 7. Item Commentariorum in qua-
 “tuor libros Apodix Euclidis, per Boethium versorum, lib. 4. Item Commenta-
 “riorum in epistolam Divi Hieronimi, cujus initium est *Frater Ambrosius*, cum
 “typo locorum illic contentorum, lib. 1. Item peregrinationes Divi Pauli, ex
 “Actis Apostolorum pictura. Item periclitaciones humanæ vitæ inter virtutes et
 “vitia, lib. 2. Item de mundi eternitate adversus Aristot. lib. 1. Item proverbio-
 “rum centuriam, lib. 1. Item triplicis in primum Psalmum enarrationes, lib. 1.
 “Item de recta sacrarum literarum interpretatione, lib. 1. Item Commentario-
 “rum in Paulum Rosetti, lib. 6. Item apologiam adversus futilia astrologorum
 “judicia, lib. 1. Item annotat. in 4 libros, M. Sentent. libri 4, *de his plus*
 “*fat.*”

These extracts give us no contemptible idea of Ferrerius's knowledge and taste; and one hundred years after the time of Ferrerius, we find one of the greatest men in Scotland, professor of philosophy at Glasgow, viz. John, afterwards viscount of Stair, great-grandfather to the examiner.

Pref. to Forbes's Journ.
 of the Court
 of Session, p.
 30.

It is said, that “The office of teaching Latin at Kinlofs, was just better than starving in France.”

The yearly salary which Ferrerius received in the year 1540, as he himself has informed us, was 40 l. “Ego vero cum multis precibus et literis ejusdem abbatis re-
 “vocatus, tum ut mihi plus otii suppeteret in recolligendis meis studiis, sub an-
 “num Domini 1540, in festo Paschatos, redii in Scotiam, ubi offendi Domi-
 “num meum declaratum Episcopum Orchodensem. a quo sum exceptus huma-
 “nissime atque ut ultro mihi reduci gratificaretur, nullo meo impulsu sed sua
 “sponte decrevit mihi quotannis quadraginta libras monetæ Scoticæ, pro meis
 “stipendiis, ac simul impensam mihi uni meo famulo et duobus equis; et ut hoc
 “ipsum esset fixum sine fraude et dolo malo amborum literas confecit mihi in
 “hujusce rei testimonium publicas, quibus appendet sigillum commune a Kyn-
 “los, cum monachorum omnium subscriptionibus ut vocant manualibus.”

It is certain, that in 1532, the yearly salary of the ordinary judges of the Court of Session was only about fourscore pounds, so that Ferrerius's appointment proves that his office was by no means dishonourable.

The examiner observes, page 30, "That it seems demonstrable that there was no ancient chronicle from which he drew his information;" and in support of this proposition, an argument is drawn from a passage in Ferrerius's book, "that from the days of Fluteri, 17th abbot, to the 23d, singula rite tenemus." But to this Ferrerius himself answers, "In supputatione temporum multa habuimus ex Martyrologia in Kinlos, et allis vetustis scriptis, quando hic vel ille abbas vixerit aut quippiam fecerit." And he goes on to mention when he conjectures, and when he speaks from evidence; and finishes his preface with declaring that all was exact from Fluter's time.

From the nature of the thing there must have been writings and remains of old buildings, &c. which instructed dates; and it is clear he must have possessed old MSS. to guide him in his conjectures. There are chronicles still extant, and papers which mention several of these abbots, vide. Fordun, vol. I. page 246, 347, 473. Vol. II. page 44. and the exactness of the dates and names shows that Fordun must have had some chronicles to build upon: the consequence of this is, that the whole of the argument, in the Examination, falls to the ground.

The next work of Ferrerius which falls under the examiner's inspection, is his History of the Family of Gordon; in the introduction to which, the author very properly remarks the difficulties that occur in tracing families to their origin; that mathematical demonstration, is not to be expected on such a subject; and that the reader should rest satisfied with such evidence as the nature of the thing affords.

The passage is as follows, "Quo fit, ut dum nos insignis familiæ natalem scrutamur lectorem eum expectamus, que de rebus a nostra memoria remotissimis equissime judicet ne si ad omnia ubique evidentem probationem exposcat, nimium anxie judicat, de his quæ satis fideliter a majoribus nostris sunt literis commendata; satis est in historia si singula narrentur simplicissime, quo modo ab ipsis viris bonis et strenuis geri potuerint, absit tantum mendacium illud quod ab omnibus facile deprehenditur, de quo quidem vel ipse sensus communis dijudicet, nil tale potuisse geri, et esse ad gratiam vel omnino imprudenter

“confictum. Cæterum quæ ita olim gerebantur ut etiam nunc indies fieri vide-
 “mus, non prorsus fide carere debent, si minus explicata sunt literis, sed com-
 “moda interpretatione suscipi; ne vel in posterum qui nos sequentur eadem autho-
 “ritate nostra elevare facta contentur argutius quam verius, quæ tamen certissime
 “gessimus. Quod quidem de rebus gestis iudicium si equus lector sibi ultro per-
 “suaserit in legendis historiis, multo melius ad usum multorum & suorum fac-
 “torum memorabilium exempla usurpabit in communi vita, quam nonnulli fa-
 “ciunt, qui ad singula nausæantes sibi præcludunt viam bene beateque vivendi
 “imitatione majorum, quos talia fecisse qualia scribuntur minime credunt.”

A few of these words are picked out as rules laid down by Ferrerius for writing history; particularly, “absit tantum mendacium illud quod ab omnibus
 “facile deprehenditur;” but take the passage altogether, and it is apparent that he is only giving reasons why a reader of history should not be too sceptical.

The rule he laid down for writing this history is told by himself afterwards very properly, in these words, “Ab his itaque initiis Malcolmi Regis felici au-
 “spicio, multi postea fuere Gordonii viri insignes, quorum nomina vitia tempo-
 “rum nunc ignorantur: quibus vero cariola vetustas pepercit ut aliquo modo
 “ad hanc usque ætatem, eorum nomina quamvis obscurius pervenerint in præ-
 “sentia nos commoda brevitate illustrare decrevimus, ac quantum fieri per nos
 “poterit, ubique veritatem sine quovis fucō complectemur.”

If these rules for writing and for reading history are joined, they will be found to contain nothing that is not universally acknowledged to be just.

In treating of the revolution which happened upon the accession of Malcolm Canmore, Ferrerius has the following passage; “Impetrata igitur victoria, Mal-
 “colmus Kean-moir, die vigesimo quinto Aprilis, Anno Domini 1061. more ma-
 “jorum apud Sconam coronatur. Inde Forfaram generalem edixit conventum,
 “ubi primores regni qui partibus suis adhæserant quorumque patres a Machabæo
 “fuerunt truculentur extincti amplis donavit prædiis agrisque, et magistratibus
 “redditis, pristinam ipsorum aut parentum restituit dignitatem; et ut res ipsa mira-
 “bilior esset apud posteros ob bene navatam pro suo principe operam mutatis cog-
 “nominibus familiarum, a suis prædiis unumquemque cognomentum sibi ad-
 “scissere imperavit. Hinc factum est ut pleraque nomina familiarum vetera tunc
 “esse desierint, et nova quadam origine, non rerum quidem, sed nominum dun-
 “taxat gentilitatis aliter vocitari cæperint. Ac ut cæteros non paucos nunc silentio
 “præ-

"præteream, tunc primum a nomine terrarum in Merchia Gordonii cæpere dici;
 "qui et prius illic imperitarunt, sed alio quodam cognomento quod oscitantia
 "scribentium ad posteros non est transmissum."

In this detail our author is supported, not only by the Scotch historians in general, but by sir James Dalrymple, one of their best antiquarians, who, in what regards names of persons, takes notice in his preface, page 67, that men, in ancient times, sometimes gave their Christian names to lands, and at other times took their surnames from lands.

The examiner, however, objects to that passage in Ferrerius, where he says, that "nomen proprium non satis tenetur," of that Gordon who was so great a favourite of king Malcolm the third; and who killed the great boar, and got the grant of the lands of Gordon.

There seems to be nothing wrong in the paragraph, but what arises from the supposition of the examiner, that "nomen proprium" signifies the surname, when it may mean only the Christian name; or, from the supposition, that "dominus" meant lord, (i. e.) a peer of the realm; when, as the examiner himself observes, it may mean, and properly does mean, only the proprietor of the lands of Gordon.

Ferrerius is reprehended, in the next place, for having passed over a tract of time in which he found no sufficient materials for his history. In justice this should have been mentioned to his honour; but, instead of this, a supposition is indulged, that there was no such annals as he refers to.

The examiner concludes his observations on the History of the Gordons, with a reflection upon Ferrerius for making the Bertram de Gordon, who killed king Richard the first of England, in the 1199, a Scotchman. But whether our author was ill informed, or not, as to that particular, cannot certainly be known; and supposing it an error, it is an error of that sort which is to be found in all books of genealogy.

Examination, page 24. Ferrerius's edition of Boece, and Continuation of the History of Scotland, fall next under the examiner's censure. His first observation, which relates to the names of king James the first's daughters, seems to suppose that this was a blank which Ferrerius found in Boece's manuscript, and could not, upon enquiry, get filled up by the old people then alive.

But

But our author expressly says, that the blanks which he found in that MS. history were only two, and related to men only, and were of little consequence; "*duas tantum parvi momenti lacunas reliquit, ubi propria nomina quorundum nobilium virorum desiderantur. Nos studiose supplere id ipsum tentavimus sed frustra, nam, &c.*" *

The Lacunæ are marked as such by him, page 364, and page 374. The blank, as to the names of four of the daughters of James the first, is not so much as taken notice of by Ferrerius; and indeed it was of as little moment as the blank for the name of the duke of Burgundy's daughter, fol. 383. verso.

It is said that Ferrerius omitted, in his edition of Boece, the name of that daughter of king James the first, who was married to the earl of Huntly; and that he has said in his History that her name was either Jean or Anabell; but had this been really the case, the inference to be drawn from the observation is not very obvious. The lady's name was Anabell, as appears from a charter under the great seal, dated the 10th of March, 1459. *book 5. No. 91.* Yet sir John Skeene, clerk register, in his Table of the Kings of Scotland, published with his and Glendouk's editions of the acts of parliament, names her Jean.

The first supposed error of Ferrerius, in his Supplement to Boece, relates to the erection of St. Andrew's into an archiepiscopal see. It is said, that the reasons given for this by Ferrerius, founded on the former jurisdiction of the archbishop of York, are absurd; but no other reasons are assigned for this erection, and it is acknowledged by one of the latest and best writers on that subject, Mr. Keith, that the controversy about the supremacy of the see of York, over the church of Scotland, was a matter of contest determined in the time of James the third by pope Sixtus the fourth, in favour of the Scotch; and it seems very probable, that the reasons urged by Ferrerius may have been those stated by the lawyers for the church of Scotland, and may have been the reasons for converting the see of St. Andrew's into an archbishoprick †.

Ferrerius

* H. Boeth. Hist. p. 355. Paris. 1574.

† Vide Keith's Catalogue of Scots Bishops, page 20. Spotiswood's Church, page 52.

Ferrarius is accused of being, like all superficial foreigners, liberal in bestowing titles of dignity; and the instances quoted in support of the accusation are lord Kennedy, whom he names as "Comes de Cassilis," about the year 1483. And lord Bothwell, who he says was "paulo ante auctus comitatu" de Bothwell.

These persons stand thus in the record quoted from Rymer, ad annum 1486. "Johan. dominum Bothvile, Johan. dominum Kennedy, milites," which demonstrates that the titles of *dominus* and *miles* subsisted at once in the same person; though the contrary had been supposed, in the Examination, page 22, in the case of the Gordons. They were only lords barons in the year 1486; so that it must be confessed that our author is here guilty of an error.

The last of Ferrarius's supposed errors is in the following paragraph, "Hoc eodem tempore delecti sunt aliquot regni barones; nimirum, Hume, Torrekis, Oliphant, my lordi, ut ipsi vocant, in supplementum parlamenti eorum."

It is owned, by the examiner, that it is hard to say what is meant by "delecti" in supplementum parlamenti eorum." It is said, that the expression seems to import the supplying vacant places in parliament; Torrekis is supposed Torreglis. There are said to be almost as many errors as words in the paragraph; Oliphant is shewn to have been a lord of parliament in 1468, Hume in 1473, and Drummond in 1478.

After considering the thing duly, all these observations seem to proceed on mistakes. Our author only meant, that the persons he mentions were chosen by the parliament, as a committee for the complaints, which was a sort of supplement to the parliament, and to them the word *delecti* is properly applied, and in the Rolls of Parliament, 1st of March, 1482, (i. e. 1483. stilo Romano, which Ferrarius often uses) for the barons on the complaints, are the lord Oliphant, the laird of Stobhall, Drummond, and sir William Knollis, whose name probably was mistaken by the copyist, or printer, for Torrekis.

The only objection to this solution is, that Hume is not one of the number ; but admitting that to be an error, it is but a trivial one.

Thus, when all the supposed errors of this author are weighed, it is plain that they relate to things which did not happen in his own time ; and there seems to be no good foundation for the many reflections which have been thrown out against him. The evidence, therefore, which he affords in support of the creation of Adam earl of Sutherland, which happened only a few years before he wrote, remains good and unexceptionable ; and, to use the words of the Examination, page 30, "ought to have all the authority that is due to a cotemporary writer, who, from his connexion with a minister of state in the court of Scotland, and his continued residence in that country, behoved to know the fact, and to be well informed concerning it ;" notwithstanding his being originally "*homo peregrinus, Italus et Piedemontanus*."

